1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nĩk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'ê, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; s., sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

ADOPTION

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'ā'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

> When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.*

* There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɛgɛ*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* may
be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
the different individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is not
unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ'ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is generally
adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

614 The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
[174] expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
chief every morning to receive certain directions from him.
[621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[1] [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

§12. *My Grandfather Adopts Me*

Once my father gave me away. Once on my return home I found my father talking to my grandfather and after a while I saw the old man weep. He had just lost a son, a young man and the last of his children. They had all died. It was this that they were talking about. I heard my grandfather say finally that he was tired of life. Then my father, weeping, called him by his relationship term and said: "I sympathize with you for you indeed speak the truth, yet in spite of it all I wish you to live. Here is my son, my own, and of all my children the one I love best. He is obedient. He is present here listening to me. He shall be your companion and as long as you live he will take you by the hand." Thus did he speak and the old man thanked him profusely.

After that I stayed with my grandfather. He thought a great deal of me and I got along very well in every way. He was a great man, one who doctored and who had great knowledge of medicine. This he used to give to the sick. He was also a great Medicine Dance man and an old soldier.

About this time a school was built at Tomah, Wisconsin, and I wanted very badly to go to it. My grandfather consented and I went there for a winter. In the

7:Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 ●597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to [796] fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the Sore Eye Dance.[37] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[515] [37] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore [927] Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given [796] after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long.